

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 166230

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJECT:NAMIBIA: CONTACT GROUP APPROACH TO NYERERE AND
KAUNDA

REF: A) PRETORIA 3646
B) PRETORIA 3647
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C) USUN 2723

1. IN LIGHT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S RESPONSE TO LATEST CONTACT
GROUP PROPOSALS (REFS A AND B), DEPARTMENT BELIEVES
THAT CONTACT GROUP'S NEXT STEP SHOULD BE TO GO BACK TO
NYERERE, EXPLAIN SITUATION TO HIM, AND SEEK HIS ASSIS-
TANCE IN OBTAINING SWAPO'S ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PROPOSAL AS

IT STANDS. IN EFFORT TO MAKE SWAPO ACCEPTANCE MORE LIKELY, DEPARTMENT BELIEVES THAT WE SHOULD OFFER VARIOUS ASSURANCES OUTSIDE THE PROPOSAL ITSELF, AS OUTLINED BELOW. FURTHER APPROACH TO SOUTH AFRICA MAY BE NECESSARY, DEPENDING UPON REACTION OF FRONT LINE STATES AND SWAPO. IN VIEW OF VERY HELPFUL ROLE WHICH PRESIDENT KAUNDA HAS PLAYED IN RECENT WEEKS, WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT APPROACH SIMILAR TO THAT WHICH WE WILL MAKE TO NYERERE SHOULD ALSO BE MADE TO KAUNDA.

2. APPROACH TO NYERERE SHOULD CONSIST OF FOLLOWING POINTS:

A) AS WE PREVIOUSLY AGREED, OUR REPRESENTATIVES IN NEW YORK MET WITH AMBASSADOR SALIM TO DISCUSS THE TEXT OF A POSSIBLE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON WALVIS BAY. OUR GOVERNMENTS HAVE NOW APPROVED THE TEXT OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION WHICH THE CONTACT GROUP DISCUSSED WITH AMBASSADOR SALIM. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS TEXT, WHICH WE WOULD LIKE TO GIVE YOU TODAY, REPRESENTS A MAJOR STEP BY THE CONTACT GROUP TO SATISFY FRONT LINE AND SWAPO CONCERNS AND THAT THIS SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO JUSTIFY SWAPO'S ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PROPOSAL;

B) THUS, WE ARE LEFT WITH ONE ISSUE, THE LOCATION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S RESIDUAL FORCE. FOLLOWING THE FRONT
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LINE SUMMIT IN LUANDA, WE ADVISED SOUTH AFRICA OF YOUR POSITION THAT THEIR RESIDUAL TROOP PRESENCE SHOULD BE LOCATED AT POINT SOUTH OF WINDHOEK. THE SOUTH AFRICANS REJECTED THIS REQUEST, CLAIMING THAT THEY HAD MADE MAJOR CONCESSIONS IN AGREEING TO OUR PROPOSAL AND COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO MAKE ANY MORE;

C) WE THEN DISCUSSED WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS THE POSSIBILITY OF CONCENTRATING THEIR FORCE AT GROOTFONTEIN AND RELINQUISHING THE RIGHT TO STATION FORCES IN OSHIEVELLO AS WELL. THE SOUTH AFRICANS REJECTED THIS SUGGESTION AGAIN ON THE GROUNDS THAT THEY WERE BEING ASKED TO MAKE MORE CONCESSIONS. WE BELIEVE THEY ARE UNLIKELY TO CHANGE THEIR STANCE. THEY BELIEVE THEY ARE IN A STRONG POSITION INTERNATIONALLY, HAVING ACCEPTED OUR PROPOSAL. IN ADDITION, THEY BELIEVE THAT ACCEPTANCE OF ONE MORE CHANGE WOULD EXPOSE THEM TO "SALAMI TACTICS" IN WHICH THEY WOULD BE CALLED UPON TO MAKE MORE AND MORE RELATIVELY SMALL CONCESSIONS;

D) WE BELIEVE THAT OUR PROPOSAL AS IT STANDS PROVIDES A FAIR BASIS FOR A SPEEDY TRANSITION TO NAMIBIAN IN-

DEPENDENCE. SOUTH AFRICA'S RESIDUAL 1500-MAN FORCE IN NAMIBIA, MONITORED AND CONTROLLED BY UNITED NATIONS FORCES, WILL NOT BE ABLE TO POSE A THREAT EITHER TO SWAPO OR TO NEIGHBORING AFRICAN COUNTRIES;

E) IN ORDER TO REASSURE SWAPO AND THE NEIGHBORING AFRICAN COUNTRIES, THE FIVE HAVE RAISED THIS SUBJECT WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL AND SUGGESTED THAT, IN THE CONTEXT OF HIS PLANNING FOR THE UN PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA, HE TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE NEED TO SATISFY THE HEIGHTENED CONCERNS OF SWAPO AND THE NEIGHBORING AFRICAN STATES REGARDING THE RESIDUAL SOUTH AFRICAN TROOP PRESENCE IN THE WAKE OF THE CASSINGO RAID. WE HAVE ASSURED THE

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SECRETARY GENERAL THAT WE WOULD SUPPORT HIS FINDINGS AS TO THE LEVEL OF UN TROOPS REQUIRED FOR THIS PURPOSE;

F) IN ADDITION, WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE LOGICAL SITE FOR THE UN MILITARY HEADQUARTERS IN NAMIBIA WILL BE THE EXISTING SOUTH AFRICAN BASE AT GROOTFONTEIN. THE PRESENCE OF THE UN MILITARY HEADQUARTERS AT GROOTFONTEIN WILL PROVIDE AN ADDITIONAL CONTROL OVER THE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES LOCATED THERE;

G) AS WE HAVE NOTED IN THE PAST, OUR GOVERNMENTS HAVE GIVEN THEIR FULL SUPPORT TO THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL. WE CONSIDER ITS FAIR AND COMPLETE IMPLEMENTATION AS ESSENTIAL IN INSURING A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE BY NAMIBIA. ANY BREACH OF THE TERMS OF THIS PROPOSAL BY SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE REGARDED BY OUR GOVERNMENTS AS A VERY SERIOUS MATTER REQUIRING PROMPT ACTION BY THE UN AND OUR GOVERNMENTS WOULD BE PREPARED TO BACK STERN MEASURES SHOULD THIS HAPPEN. AT THE SAME TIME, WE WOULD STRESS THAT, FOLLOWING THE ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PROPOSAL, WE WOULD EXPECT EQUALLY SCRUPULOUS OBSERVANCE OF ITS TERMS BY SWAPO;

H) OUR COMMITMENT TO NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE WILL NOT END WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR PROPOSAL. WE HAVE BEEN AUTHORIZED BY OUR GOVERNMENTS TO ADVISE YOU, AND TO REQUEST THAT YOU SO INFORM SWAPO, THAT OUR GOVERNMENTS WILL BE PREPARED, CONSISTENT WITH THEIR POSSIBILITIES AND IN LINE WITH DOMESTIC LEGISLATIVE REQUIREMENTS, TO AID AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA WHICH EMERGES UNDER OUR PROPOSAL IN ITS FUTURE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT;

I) WE ARE AT A CRITICAL POINT IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS ON
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NAMIBIA. IF WE ARE NOT ABLE TO OBTAIN SWAPO'S ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PROPOSAL, WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL PROCEED WITH AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WHICH WILL FOLLOW THE WESTERN PROPOSAL IN MANY IMPORTANT RESPECTS. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, WE BELIEVE THAT PUBLIC OPINION IN OUR COUNTRIES WILL TEND TO REGARD SOUTH AFRICA AS HAVING MADE EVERY EFFORT TO REACH AN INTERNATIONALLY-ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT ON NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE AND WILL NOT SUPPORT ANY ACTIONS BY OUR GOVERNMENTS AIMED AT PRESSURING SOUTH AFRICA TO ABANDON ITS COURSE OF ACTION;

J) ON THE BASIS OF THE ABOVE CONSIDERATIONS, WE HOPE THAT YOU WILL ACCEPT OUR VIEW THAT THE TIME HAS COME TO MOVE TOWARD INDEPENDENCE ON THE BASIS OF OUR PROPOSAL.

3. SHOULD NYERERE COME BACK TO US WITH RESPONSE THAT PROPOSAL IS STILL UNACCEPTABLE TO SWAPO, DEPARTMENT AGREES THAT WE SHOULD THEN ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN SWAPO AND FRONT LINE AGREEMENT THAT PROPOSAL WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE IF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCE WERE RESTRICTED TO GROOTFONTEIN AS PROPOSED IN PARA 1, REF C. HOWEVER, GIVEN VERY UNCERTAIN PROSPECTS WHICH SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD FACE IN PRETORIA, EVEN WITH ADDED ELEMENT OF SWAPO ACCEPTANCE OF PROPOSAL PROVIDED THIS ONE MINOR CHANGE WERE MADE, WE BELIEVE OUR INITIAL EFFORT SHOULD BE AIMED AT OBTAINING SWAPO'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL WITH THE SWEETENERS OUTLINED IN TALKING POINTS FOR NYERERE IN PARA 2 ABOVE.

4. FOR THE TIME BEING, WE DO NOT BELIEVE IT WOULD BE FRUITFUL TO GO BACK TO SOUTH AFRICANS FOR A DISCUSSION OF VARIOUS POINTS RAISED IN THEIR PAPER (PRETORIA 3646). FURTHER DISCUSSION OF WALVIS BAY AT THIS POINT WITH SOUTH AFRICANS COULD ONLY INVOLVE US IN A CONTROVERSY
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WHICH COULD WELL LEAD TO SOUTH AFRICA'S REJECTION OF OUR PROPOSAL. AS FAR AS QUESTION OF LOCATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN RESIDUAL FORCE IS CONCERNED, IT MAY BE USEFUL AT SOME POINT IN NEAR FUTURE TO GO BACK TO SOUTH AFRICANS WITH APPROACH WHICH WOULD POINT OUT THAT THEY APPARENTLY MISUNDERSTOOD NATURE OF OUR SUGGESTION, WHICH WOULD NOT REQUIRE AMENDMENT TO OUR PROPOSAL. WE

MIGHT POINT OUT TO SOUTH AFRICANS THAT THEIR AGREEMENT
TO RELINQUISH RIGHT TO STATION FORCES AT OSHIEVELLO
COULD BE CONVEYED PRIVATELY TO FRONT LINE AND SWAPO AND

WOULD NOT REQUIRE ANY PUBLIC ACKNOWLEDGMENT ON THEIR
PART.

5. AMBASSADOR MCHENRY CONCURS. VANCE

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